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THE KURDISH VANGUARD PARTY IN IRAQ

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THE KURDISH VANGUARD PARTY IN IRAQ

[Following are translations of articles appearing in Khehbat (Struggle), Baghdad, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18 and 21 September, 1960.]

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THE NEED FOR OUR VANGUARD PARTY

Following is a translation of an article appearing in Khehbat (Struggle), Baghdad, 8, September 1960, page 5.

What is the role of the vanguard?

The basic role of the vanguard of any party in human society is to remove obstacles put in the path of social development by reactionary exploiting forces to hinder its progress, to crush these reactionary forces - be they foreign or local -, to supervise and organize the struggle of the exploited masses and to lead them wisely on the road of freedom, progress and happiness.

Human society is in a state of continuous development and progress proceeding in accordance with the social law of evolution which is not of the making of man and which is above the will of the people. It is a historical necessity taking its natural course. However, since oppressive reactionary forces always put obstacles in the way of this imminent development and oppose its progress with all the power of their regime and also try to persuade people with the old beliefs, opinions and customs of that regime, the existence of a vanguard party to scatter these enemies and eliminate their hindering opposition is a historical necessity. The mission of man in social development is to know and understand well the laws of social evolution and utilize them to promote society in which he lives, by defeating his opponents and removing the obstacles put in his way by them.

The best way to help the development of any society is to make a thorough scientific study of the background, conditions and circumstances of that society and to adopt a practical scientific method which will illuminate the road of progress like a beacon. This is the right course to take, not meaningless texts and meaningless declarations...

How should a vanguard party be?

and how should a vanguard party for the masses of Kurdistan be?

From the foregoing it can be seen that the historical need for a vanguard party arises from the fact that certain reactionary exploiting forces and classes have an interest in hampering the progress of the people and keeping them in

a backward state by blocking the way of their social development. Therefore, in order to save the people from enslavement and deprivation, we must organize forces interested in human progress, and direct these forces to destroy the exploiters, the oppressors, and the reactionaries, and remove their obstacles from the way.

The historical basis for a vanguard
party for Kurdistan.

In the foregoing we have demonstrated the need for a vanguard party for people in general, and now we shall deal with this matter in relation to Kurdistan in particular.

In our Kurdistan, too, the need for a vanguard party is quite obvious. In our Kurdistan, too, there are forces which hinder the economic, political and cultural progress of the people. The imperialists, the usurpers, and their agents are the cause of the persecutions, the misery and the deprivation of the Kurds and Kurdistan. Therefore, we must organize all the good forces of the Kurdish people, those loyal to the Kurds and Kurdistan, and all those who have an interest in social progress, and stimulate them to destroy the usurpers and exploiters who obstruct the path of our progress, and to get rid of foreign occupation and domination and the obsolete reactionary regime. All this points to the need of a vanguard party to carry out this onerous duty. This is one of the chief motives for the need of a vanguard party for the masses of Kurdistan. Later we shall look into the other motives.

THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

[Following is the translation of an article appearing in Khehbat (Struggle), Baghdad, 12 September 1960, page 6, 13 September 1960, page 6, and 15 September 1960, page 6.]

We can see from the foregoing that a historical movement known as Kurdayati has come into being in Kurdistan, in which the tide of social progress and development makes itself apparent. In order for any party to be a real vanguard it should have as its objectives the removal of the obstacles placed in the way of the Kurdish people, the liberation of Kurdistan and the securing its right of self-determination for the Kurdish people. This is the cornerstone for any program of development. Further, the vanguard party must be convinced of the fact that the tide of social progress is latent in Kurdayati (the Kurdish movement) which embodies its goal. It is obvious that such an achievement can only be attained through the efforts of a party composed of purely Kurdish elements and not through a party - or a branch of a party - outside Kurdistan. The vanguard party is the party which represents the progressive groups interested in the advancement of the public and whose circumstances are more or less analogous. Only such elements can form a vanguard party characterized by revolutionary ideas and able to play its part properly. It must have the right qualifications for planning and organizing the struggle in accordance with a scientific ideology. These qualifications are as follows:

- 1 - Its members should be chosen from the cream of progressive classes and groups of an organized revolutionary order well qualified for leadership of the vanguard.

- 2 - Its objectives should be consistent with the requirements of the advancement of the people, and its political, social, cultural and economical programs should benefit the majority of the population, especially the exploited and persecuted working classes.

- 3 - The basis of its work and its policy should be the material conditions of the people, which are the decisive force for development and progress.

- 4 - Its activities and its methods for the revolutionary struggle should be compatible with prevailing circumstances as well as with its duties.

- 5 - It should adopt a wise and realistic plan of action.

In our Kurdistan, the vanguard must give expression to the requirements of social progress, fight for the lifting all obstacles from its way and speed it up! In order to accomplish this, it must be well informed on the needs of society and the nature of its development! Further, the method of setting up the vanguard party and its system of operation should be compatible with the actual conditions of the people and the movement for progress and development.

In our Kurdistan where the colonialists have blocked all the roads of progress and usurped all the national rights of the Kurdish people, since Kurdistan has now reached the stage of fitness for national liberation whereby it acquired a strong case for being free from colonialism and foreign domination, and exercising its right of self-determination, since Kurdistan is underdeveloped industrially, agriculturally, educationally, etc., therefore the Kurdish revolutionary social movement which became prominent in the tide of social progress is the only national liberation movement known as Kurdayati. There is no other movement representative of the current of social development in Kurdistan.

Therefore, the vanguard party of Kurdistan, the party which can advance Kurdush society and deliver the people from persecution of the forces of occupation and colonialism, work for its happiness and bring Kurdistan to the level of progressive nations must absolutely be in harmony with the Kurdish movement Kurdayati, in its formation, its organization and its method of operation as well as its objectives... otherwise, it will be isolated from the tide of social development and will not be able to influence Kurdish society and bring about its advancement.

Therefore the vanguard party in Kurdistan must be of the Kurdish movement, Kurdayati, especially as the backbone of this movement is composed of peasants, workmen, revolutionary intellectuals, traders and professionals, and its aims are not simply political, but also economical, social and educational.

It is obvious that this party should be a pure Kurdish party, and not a subsidiary of another party.

The basis of operation and policy of any vanguard party should be the material conditions of the society in which that party is established, which are the decisive factor in its social development. Its method of operation and struggle must be realistic and consistent with prevailing conditions. The vanguard party operates in accordance with the laws of social evolution and knows that any movement is the result of the natural course of things, beyond the control of man, and that all he can do is to understand it and go along with

it, so that he may be able to influence its orientation. The wise man knows that such movement is unavoidable and that it is useless to try to oppose it.

Let us now go deeper into this historical truth to see what it means to Kurdistan.

For decades in Kurdistan there existed a liberation movement which frequently led to bloody revolts and imprisonment and the annihilation of tens of thousands ...

This movement is born from the natural course of history and is not of the making of any party or person and is manifest in all aspects of the life of the people of Kurdistan, whether educational, economical, political or social. This movement is the national liberation movement, called Kurdayati. It is the enemy of colonialism and its reactionary agents, the enemy of the American and English warmongers, the enemy of the tottering regime of the Shah, the enemy of dictatorships, etc... As it is a revolutionary progressive movement, its victory will shake the reactionary regimes in the entire East. And now we shall discuss some of the convincing arguments demonstrating the solid basis on which our vanguard Kurdish party is established:

1 - Kurdistan has been the homeland of the Kurds for thousands of years, and although this is quite obvious, some of the "cosmopolitans" have denied this fact for a long time. This applies also to the forces of occupation and the imperialists. It is evident that Kurdistan has circumstances of its own and also a way of its own for progress and development which require special endeavors, special plans and special solutions. Hence the need arises for a special party in Kurdistan, as particular conditions require particular endeavors, particular organization and particular procedures.

2 - In view of the existence of a national liberation movement in Kurdistan where nationalistic feeling is intense, as is the case with all oppressed nations, and taking all the foregoing facts into consideration, it will be seen that only a Kurdish vanguard party can rally the masses around it and give orientation to their struggle, especially as the Kurdayati movement is now widespread and includes the peasants and all other classes of the people. In a country like ours which is industrially underdeveloped, the party which leads the peasants must also lead the national movement. It goes without saying that a systematic organization is essential for attaining the desired objectives, and the best means to that end is a well-organized vanguard party which could rally as many groups out of the masses as possible around it, which can only be accomplished by a Kurdish vanguard party.

Therefore, how can a revolutionary movement like this be neglected or antagonized in any country? Indeed, to fight such a movement is in itself a great service to the imperialists and to the forces of occupation and treason to the homeland. To keep away from this movement and to procrastinate in joining it is to run away from facts and from the tide of the social development and the masses rallied to its flag. And now what are the duties of the vanguard party? Its duty is to lead the national liberation movement. It is not enough for the party to claim to be a vanguard, but, in order to be a real vanguard, it must espouse the aims of the struggle in keeping with our national movement, Kurdayati.

It is obvious that only a Kurdish party can accomplish that. No other party or subsidiary of it can achieve that. Besides, the vanguard party must control all the people's movements and must not allow them to deviate from its right course. It should also push these movements forward in harmony with the law of social evolution, organize them and protect them against the enemies of the colonialists and the enemies of the people. Hence, the vanguard party in Kurdistan must be Kurdish and, since our party has that qualification, it is the right party for Kurdistan.

We may add that our vanguard party was born out of the progressive movement of our society in Kurdistan many years ago and that all during its honorable struggle, it has never deviated from its historical revolutionary course.

3 - As a result of the savage persecution of the Kurdish people and the deprivation of its national and political entity at a time when we continually hear that the peoples of the world are victorious in their fight for freedom and independence, and also owing to the misguided policy of some "cosmopolitan" Kurds, an awakening of nationalistic consciousness took place among the Kurds which was transformed into a material force. Therefore, it became necessary to watch closely this development, to give it the right orientation and to use it as a sharp weapon against the true enemies of the national movement "Kurdayati", namely, the imperialists, the usurpers, and the local reactionaries. None but a Kurdish vanguard party can undertake this task, especially at this time when some of the colonialists' agents and a group of short-sighted "rightists" are trying to divert the Kurdish national movement from its correct revolutionary course and to distort its progressive objective.

The vanguard party of Kurdistan serves not only the Kurdish national movement and the Kurdish nation but is also beneficial to the neighboring peoples, to the support of the Iraqi Republic and to the strengthening of the Iraqi-Kurdish

brotherbook. This party is able to prevent the Kurdish liberation movement from deviating from its right course and also from falling under the influence of the colonialists' agents and the short-sighted chauvinists. If the plotters against "Kurdayati" were given a chance for a political role, they would direct the Kurdish national movement against the Arab people and the Iraqi Republic (the Arab-Kurdish democratic Republic) and this in itself would be a great service to the enemies of the Kurdish movement "Kurdayati" and to the enemies of the Kurds and Kurdistan, namely the colonialists and their agents, and thus they would turn the movement backwards.

Therefore, in order to direct the Kurdish liberation movement "Kurdayati" to its correct revolutionary historical course side by side with neighboring peoples, and to strengthen cooperation between the Kurdish masses and the Iraqi people in their struggle for the safeguarding of the Iraqi Republic and its democratic programs; and in order to secure the national rights of the Kurdish people and to provide leadership to the Kurdish nation in its struggle for self-determination, the existence of a Kurdish national party is of vital necessity and of great importance under the present circumstances.

4 - Only a Kurdish vanguard party can successfully resist the rise of any reactionary, chauvinistic, or imperialist group and defeat its poisonous propaganda among the Kurdish population. Likewise, only the said party can oppose the spread of the poisonous "cosmopolitan" ideology among the Kurds.

5 - Only the Kurdish vanguard party can present the Kurdish case to the peoples of the world and demonstrate the justice of its cause, and also work for strengthening friendship between the Kurds and other nations and win their sympathy and support which are the cornerstones of the victory of the Kurdish liberation movement.

6 - Only the vanguard party of Kurdistan can liquidate the propaganda of the colonialists and the slanderous reports of the usurpers to the effect that the struggle of the Kurdish masses, "Kurdayati", is a foreign intrigue. The "Turansians" once charged that the Kurds are agents of the British colonialists and this cheap accusation was echoed by the Arab and Iranian chauvinists on numerous occasions. At present the imperialists and their agents charge that the Kurdish liberation movement "Kurdayati" is the agent of Communism and the Cominform, but it is evident that all these propagandistic reports are far from the truth. The fact is that the Kurdish liberation movement "Kurdayati" is a people's revolutionary movement since it does not aim to set up either a communist regime or a proletarian dictatorship. It is not

a movement that is inspired by Britain since, as we stated before, "Kurdayati" is hostile to imperialism and its agent and therefore it is against British colonialism. "Kurdayati" is a movement of the Kurdish masses, and its enemies and ill-wishers are those who work for their personal interests and designs and are traitors to their compatriots. They circulate slanderous falsehoods in order to strike at this progressive people's movement. Therefore it is necessary to denounce the claims and intrigues of the imperialists and their agents in order to demonstrate the truth of the Kurdish liberation movement "Kurdayati" and the Kurdish cases and win the sympathy and backing of the peoples of the world.

7 - As the Kurdish liberation movement is growing in all parts of Kurdistan, and as our Kurdish liberation movement in Iraqi Kurdistan is part of the general liberation movement, especially in these days when all the peoples are getting liberated from the grip of the imperialists, and that imperialism and nationalistic movements are engaged in a furious struggle, and as the Kurdish liberation movement "Kurdayati" is a party to this struggle, and as the Kurdish movement is not new but historical, in view of all the above reasons, it is only the Kurdish vanguard party that is able to preserve the unity of the historical Kurdish national liberation movement and to keep the battle of Iraqi Kurdistan for the attainment of our common goal.

This party can make a mutual exchange of aid and tactical experience within the scope of the liberation movement in Kurdistan in a general way. Only this party is in a position to take advantage of favorable opportunities presenting themselves for the liberation of any party of Kurdistan by giving the latter the necessary aid and support at the opportune time.

8 - Only this Kurdish vanguard party is able to maintain the unity of the Kurdish line in the war against the imperialists and usurpers, and maintain the unity of the workers, the peasants, the traders, the intellectuals, the merchants and the landowners in the struggle for our great goal. It is clear that their unity in the struggle does not mean that they should be gathered under the flag of a single party, but that the struggle should be organized and unified as far as possible, all of which makes the existence of a Kurdish vanguard party absolutely necessary for leading the combat of the Kurdish people and supporting the war of the peoples of the East against imperialism. The need for its existence is obvious and it is for this reason that all attempts to destroy it have been unsuccessful.

THE VANGUARD PARTY FOR KURDISTAN CAN ONLY BE
A DEMOCRATIC PROGRESSIVE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Following is the translation of an article
appearing in Khehbat (Struggle), Baghdad,
16 September page 5.

We have demonstrated in the foregoing the need for and the importance of a vanguard party for the people of Kurdistan. After having dealt with this subject in detail, we now have to study the actual circumstances of Kurdistan and the national Kurdian movement and its reflection in the tide of social progress and to examine the political situation in Kurdistan, in the East and in the world. After such a study we shall see clearly that the vanguard party of Kurdistan must be democratic, progressive, and revolutionary in order to be worthy to lead the national Kurdish movement "Kurdayati", and orient its activities on the correct course in keeping with the desired goal and in complete harmony with the prevailing circumstances, far from the world of dreams and wishful thinking.

If the vanguard party of Kurdistan were a rightist party with a poor national ideology and not a progressive revolutionary party, it would be impossible for it to rally the masses around it; it would be difficult for it to fulfill the aspirations of the people and to profit from the aid of other nations. It would also adversely affect the organization of the struggle of the Kurdish people and the unity of the Kurdish national fighting forces and groups, and this would result in weakening and distorting the Kurdish national movement and giving it the aspect of an immature party politically, and ideologically, and it would then fall prey to colonialism and the forces of occupation.

The Kurdish people have tried this method in a practical way a long time ago. The progressive Kurdish national liberation movement has swept in its advance all kinds of rightist and isolationist parties when the latter have become obsolete and unable to serve the Kurdish people, as their methods are inconsistent with the requirements of the struggle of the masses of our modern times.

As we have proved before in our discussion of the need for a Kurdish vanguard party, the Iraq Communist Party cannot be a vanguard party for the people of the Kurdistan through its branch in Kurdistan. Moreover, International Communism does not recognize more than one Communist Party

in each state, which means that since the existing branch is not Kurdish, it is not recognized as representing Kurdistan. This will cause the division and disintegration of the forces rallied around the Kurdish liberation movement "Kurdayati". Further, the inability of the branch to control the Kurdish liberation movement will result in a situation where the movement will fall under the influence and leadership of short-sighted isolationist elements. As the character and mode of operation of the Iraqi branch is incompatible with the Kurdish liberation movement "Kurdayati", the latter will be charged with being an agent of another movement and will thus remain weak and lose its aspect of national liberation. All of this will deprive the Kurdish movement of the sympathy and support of the non-Communist national forces of the world.

If the Kurdish vanguard party were a Communist Party, it would not have been a vanguard for the Kurdish liberation movement "Kurdayati". Before demonstrating the damage resulting from the existence of an Iraqi Communist branch in Kurdistan we find it opportune to quote some excerpts from Marxist literature. Marxist theory says: "The Communist Party is formed by injecting the proletariat with Marxist-Leninist ideology and a communist party can only be created from a proletariat with a sufficient degree of development and class consciousness to make it qualified for communistic organization." To put it briefly, it is only after the rise of a proletarian movement and its indoctrination with the Marxist ideology that a Communist Party can be formed.

Stalin himself said in one of his speeches that it is impossible to create Communist Parties in countries where the proletariat is weak and backward, and he gave Morocco as an example. Here is an excerpt from a pamphlet recently published by the Iraqi Communist Party regarding Morocco under the caption "The Workers movement, Nationalism and the Colonies Problem":

"... but ever since that time and especially during the Second World War, industry in Morocco was developed to a great extent, the proletariat grew in number and a Communist Party was formed.", which means that only after industry and the proletariat reached a sufficient degree of advancement was it possible to form a communist party. In the case of Kurdistan, there is no proletarian movement to be indoctrinated with Marxist-Leninist ideology and from which a Communist Party could be formed. The branch of the Communist Party was started in Kurdistan by some students who were able to gather a number of workers around them, which means that the creation of a Communist Party was not the result of the indoctrination of a proletarian movement

with Marxist-Leninist ideology. On the contrary, the majority of the leaders are intellectuals - from among the teachers and students - who have not the least relation with the proletariat.

The progressive democratic parties constitute
vanguard parties

The Iraqi Communists claim that the Communist Party is the only vanguard party and that it is impossible for any other party in the whole world to be a vanguard party, basing their idea on the statements of some Marxist-Leninist philosophers.

If we take a look at the struggle of the African and Asian peoples we will clearly see that the parties which undertook the role of the vanguard and also of leading the war against colonialism and of securing their right of self-determination are progressive revolutionary parties, and not Communist Parties. There are many examples to support this, namely, Guinea, Ghana, The Cameroons, Somaliland, Congo, etc. The parties which undertook the role of vanguard and leadership in all these countries are democratic and of the people, not Communist Parties. There is not even one party in all these countries bearing the name of Communist.

OTHER DANGERS RESULTING FROM THE EXISTANCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN KURDISTAN

[Following is the translation of an article
appearing in Khehbat (Struggle), Baghdad, 18
September 1960, page 6.]

1 - The existence of the Communist Party will lead to the isolation of part of the people of Kurdistan from the Kurdish national liberation movement, which in turn will cause these intellectuals, traders and peasants to abstain from doing their duty in this historical struggle jointly with their countrymen, with the result of the emaciation of the Kurdish national movement. In fact, it is for this same reason that the Kurdish national movement has become relatively weaker ever since the end of World War 2.

2 - As the Iraqi branch of the Communist Party in Kurdistan has been formed in an irregular way - since it is not derived from a Kurdish society - its continuance there will prompt it to adopt wrong dangerous methods which will cause our glorious party to be smeared with unjust false charges. In spite of that, our party has made continuous endeavors trying to turn the Communist Party to the right path, and has wisely refrained from replying in kind to their disturbing false rumors regarding our party. However, on certain occasions it was compelled to reply and did so reluctantly and that has caused and is still causing a waste of energy to the Kurdish national movement in these unnecessary disputes.

3 - The founders of the branch of the branch of the Iraqi Communist Party started with a savage but childish attack on the Kurds, on Kurdistan and on the Kurdish national liberation movement, alleging that the Kurds are not a separate individual nation and that therefore have no right to self-determination nor their own way in the struggle for liberation. They followed this devious way for the purpose of drawing the simple-minded to their own camp from among the masses. However, by attacking the Kurdish liberation movement, they did a great service to the enemies of the Kurdish people and inflicted heavy damage on its national movement. On numerous occasions they were prompted by their enthusiasm for their party and their narrow thinking to direct their fire against the Kurdish liberation movement instead of against the enemies of the Kurds and Kurdistan. In fact, people still carry the bitter memories of their atrocities

of which there were so many instances that it is needless for us to mention them. The ruthless campaign of the Communist branch was not limited in its scope to our country, but was also carried to the Communist Parties in other parts of the world and into the socialist camp, where they circulated false charges against the Kurds and Kurdistan on a world-wide basis through those circles which are bound to them by friendly ties and they have achieved some success in their dishonorable efforts.

4 - Even by the standards of Marxist-Leninist theory, the establishment of the Iraqi branch in Kurdistan will bring forth grave errors because it will divert the class war from its natural course and cause the disintegration of the people's unit in their struggle against our real greatest enemy, namely, the imperialists and the reactionaries. It is evident that the national war waged by the Kurdish people is at the same time a class war. It is the duty of those who believe in Marxist-Leninist ideology in Kurdistan and in similar countries which are in the stage of development to give priority to the national struggle for liberation and not to cause the disintegration of the national forces, the isolation of some of them and the diversion of some others, all of which may ultimately result in the weakening of the national movement.

5- The existence of the branch of the Iraqi Communist Party in Kurdistan has created fertile soil for the opportunists and the "prevaricating" groups whose sole concern when they participate in political activities is to draw some personal benefit. They work only for their own selfish ends. The hostile attitude of the Iraqi branch towards our vanguard party has enabled these opportunists and prevaricators to juggle in politics, and has lessened the chances of their being exposed and of purifying the atmosphere from their evils. These groups constitute one of the diseases from which the Kurdish liberation movement is suffering and it is our duty to purge the movement from them as soon as possible.

6 - The existence of the Iraqi branch in Kurdistan is causing the severance of ties between the various sections of the Kurdish national liberation movement "Kurdayati", ties which should be strengthened more and more day after day. The existence of the branch is causing the disintegration of those ties and may finally destroy mutual cooperation between the members of the national movement in Kurdistan. Naturally, it is impossible to liberate and unify Kurdistan without strengthening and stabilizing those ties in the national movements in all parts of Kurdistan.

7 - The existance of the Iraqi branch in Kurdistan is effacing the Kurdish case from the field because the Iraqi branch does not look upon the Kurdish case as a special case of primary importance, but considers it as part of the Iraqi party. The latter cannot devote its struggle to the Kurds and Kurdistan and its just cause, as an independent case. Therefore the existance of the branch is obstructing the viewing of the Kurdish case by the peoples and states of the world as the case of a wronged nation. In fact, we have experienced this abroad where the delegations of Kurdistan were antagonized in the international meetings and conferences and where all organizations and commissions bearing the name of Kurdistan have met with opposition and contention.

8 - The existence of the Iraqi branch in Kurdistan is leading to the elimination of the Kurdish People as a national entity with Kurdistan as its homeland. For this reason, the branch has always been fighting savagely against our vanguard party and against all democratic organizations composed of purely Kurdish elements, such as Students, Youth, and Women's Associations.

WHY THE IMPERIALISTS CHARGE THE KURDISH LIBERATION MOVEMENT WITH BEING COMMUNISTIC

[Following is the translation of an article
appearing in Khehbat (Struggle), Baghdad, 21
September 1960, page 6.]

We have already explained the dangers arising from the existence in Kurdistan of a branch of the Iraqi Communist Party. We have demonstrated that no benefit can be derived from a Communist Party of this kind in Kurdistan. Besides, such a party gives the Kurdish liberation movement the aspect of a "red" movement, which is not satisfactory even to the Communists themselves, as a party made artificially in this way will not constitute a Communist Party even though it is friendly to the Soviet Union and the socialist peoples.

It is now necessary to understand the dangers arising from a situation where the Kurdish national liberation movement is considered as a Communist movement. A passing glance at the national liberation movements of the peoples of the world, from Indonesia to Cuba, will show us clearly that the freedom-loving peoples always try to show their liberation movements in their true light and to fight off the charges that they (the movements) are Communistic, which are always levelled by the colonialists and their agents at any liberation movement in all parts of the world. The question occurs to the mind as to why people seeking liberation are impelled to avoid being known as Communists and why the colonialists insist on labeling them as Communist. Well, the policy of the peoples avoiding being considered as Communists does not mean that their movements are not Communistic, or that they do not intend to build a socialist system through their revolutionary movements. They try to emphasize that their movements aim at national liberation, independence, democratic reform and social progress. On the other hand, the attempts of the imperialists to publicize the movements as Communistic are not due to their ignorance of the facts. The reason why both parties take opposite attitudes as mentioned above is that if the people's movements are labeled "red", they will incur the following injuries:

- 1 - The national movements if known as Communistic will have a restricted scope because certain independent

classes and groups will keep away from it, and this will break the unity of the national forces and induce some of the anti-Communists and their followers to seek rapprochement with the imperialists, especially when the communist movement slips into the leftist dangerous roads. The childish, chaotic acts which took place in Iraq have increased the danger of these groups to a great extent.

2 - The colonialists and the reactionaries will have a chance to set forth new arguments in order to strike at the national movement and destroy it. We cannot consider as silly the attempts of the colonialists, the Arab chauvinists and some traitors from among the Kurds who are trying to paint the Kurdish national movement with a "red" color and thus prepare the way to strike at it.

3 - If known as Communistic, the people's liberation movement will be deprived of the sympathy of the non-communist nations, and the imperialists will have a pretext to justify their colonialist policies in the eyes of their own people and the other people's of the world under the guise of fighting communism. But if we deprive the imperialists of this opportunity, the task of exposing their lies and slanders will become easier, and they will be stripped of the arguments whereby they deceive their people and the other peoples of the world, by emphasizing the dangers of Communism. The support which the peoples fighting for their freedom and self-determination get from the other peoples of the world and their forces is a great factor in tipping the scales against the colonialists in the struggle for liberation, democracy and progress. The Kurdish democratic party will continue to be the only vanguard for the masses of Kurdistan.

It is evident from the foregoing facts that the Kurdish democratic party is the sole vanguard for the masses of Kurdistan because this party emanates from the heart of Kurdistan as a result of the indoctrination of the national liberation movement and the historic course of the social development of Kurdistan with the progressive revolutionary ideas. The Barzan revolt has crystallized it in this shape. The Kurdish democratic party has the requisite qualifications for a vanguard party and is the sole party that is able to lead the national liberation movement to its final goal. The other parties, namely, the Kurdish chauvinist party, the rightist party which is loyal to colonialism, or the leftist party which has deviated from the right course cannot be a vanguard for the Kurdish people and will only cause damage to Kurdistan. This does not mean that we shall use

the stick to eliminate the Iraqi communist party or any other party, but this is our opinion and we are convinced that it is sound and correct. History will vindicate this in the course of our struggle which we will conduct by scientific and democratic methods, and we shall refute anything that we consider wrong and detrimental to the interests of the Kurdish people by peaceable contests.

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